The Anglican Minority in Colonial Pennsylvania, with Particular Reference to the Indian

The settlement of Pennsylvania illustrates more than that of any other British colony the contemporary religious and political conditions in Great Britain, in Germany, and in France. The British islands represented then, as now, a great variety of religious faiths, and there, as in France and Germany, at the opening of the eighteenth century, a comparative cooling off of religious animosities resulted in a growth of religious toleration. The French monarchy had not driven out all of its Protestants but tens of thousands of them had migrated to Prussia, many to Holland, to England, and from thence into the British and Dutch empires, as well as to Germany. A relatively high percentage of French blood entered the populations of these countries. Europe threatened with French hegemony was in such a state of nerves that some people felt the world was coming to an end. Minorities in different continental countries were driven from place to place and suffered political, economic, and religious persecution. Nor is it to be forgotten that conditions in the British Isles were at times almost equally bad. Scotland threatened war against England over the Darien venture, and the Irish were in an almost constant state of rebellion that broke into occasional bloody battles like that of the Boyne (1690). This economic and religious domination of Ireland forced thousands of Irish to leave their homeland, the Scots-Irish coming largely to the American continental colonies, the Roman Catholics going to the continent and to the Hispanic-American colonial world; for Louis XIV's intervention had merely made the condition of Ireland worse and many withdrew to France and to Spain, large numbers in the actual ships of the last departing French expedition. Today, as is well known, Irish names are common in Latin Europe and Hispanic America.
However, unlike the crowded conditions in the twentieth century, the European world of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had new continents hungrily awaiting the transforming power of the immigrant. In 1700, it has been estimated that the total white population of the English continental colonies was approximately 300,000, but doubling itself every twenty years. This settlement was a scanty fringe, on the edges of a rich continent of virgin soil, vast forests, and mineral resources; “uninhabited” in what is now the United States and Canada, except by the Indian population which was incapable of effective resistance to invasion and could not be absorbed into the white man’s on-rushing society. A mammoth new world, then, awaited a mass flight of man. A possible new world Utopia, however, was only in part to be, because equally in transit were man’s mental baggage, all his old traditions, animosities, his legal and constitutional conceptions, his national and individual gifts and skills. The Englishman, Irishman, Welshman, German, Swede, and Dutchman, each had his way of building a new society and of establishing himself in the promised land.

In brief, Pennsylvania at the very beginning of its history became in miniature a complicated new society, based on various European heritages, but operating within powerful new environmental influences. Moreover, the link with Europe was never wholly broken, but, generation by generation, remained a characteristic feature. If cut off, the new settler would have suffered as did the Negro when he was removed abruptly and forever from his African culture and memories. On the other hand, if not “Americanized,” the danger was that an emigrant might carry on the fratricidal feuds of his forebears indefinitely.

Penn’s deliberate invitation to come to his great “subdivision” brought in a tremendous “sampling” of the peoples of western Europe and the consequent tempo of development was more rapid than was usual in the new colonies. Each of the three main groups in Pennsylvania: English, Scots-Irish, Germans, soon claimed about one-third of the population of the colony. Each group in turn was divided, the Germans into many sects, the English into Quakers, Anglicans, and others, and even the Scots-Irish came from different places and had various intellectual backgrounds. There were Irish

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Quakers, as well as Welsh Quakers. Sydney George Fisher commits himself to the statement that, "The most numerous class of immigrants for the first 15 or 20 years were Welsh, most of whom were Quakers, with a few Baptists and Church of England people." The Welsh spoke their own tongue and were centered west of Philadelphia, where numerous place names have survived.

However, this colony, heterodox in religion and in nationalistic origin, welcomed its settlers with great riches in agricultural and other economic resources. Hence they were not forced into desperate economic struggles but, from inexhaustible plains and valleys, could supply themselves and carry on an active commerce from the splendid port of Philadelphia. The amazing resources of Pennsylvania may be strikingly presented. From its formation to the present time, the wealth and population of this Commonwealth, decade by decade, have been approximately equal to those of the whole territory now included in the Dominion of Canada.

The rapid development of Pennsylvania was aided by a change in English colonial policy. The year 1660 is something of a dividing line in English colonization. Before that date the Atlantic seaboard settlers were English, whether it was in Virginia, Massachusetts, or Barbados. After that time it seems as if the British government, because of the drain of population, came to a determination to keep the English at home, and the new colonies were opened to settlers from all the British Isles and from the continent, with the result, as already stated, that Scots, Welsh, Irish, French Huguenots and Germans formed a large percentage of the new settlements and plantations. Some of the territory taken by conquest from the Dutch, moreover, was already settled not only by the Dutch but by Swedes, Finns, New Englanders and others. For many years Dutch was spoken in New York and even the Swedish settlements in Delaware lost their identity slowly.


J. Holland Rose, A. P. Newton, E. A. Benians, *Cambridge History of British Empire*, I. 564. "Any factor which contributed to the increase of the working population, e.g., the immigration of workers from the continent, was to be welcomed. The laboring classes were sometimes spoken of as the wealth of the country, . . ." Obviously the planting of colonies was a drain on the population of the mother country." About the middle of the seventeenth century, the conviction grew that the country was under-populated.
This striking "melting pot" of nationalities, then, was the deliberate creation of Penn who advertised for settlers through agents in Dublin, Hamilton, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, in Rotterdam, and in Frankfort-on-the-Main. As Charles M. Andrews well states, "It is not surprising, therefore, that from the beginning the province contained the most variegated assortment of people, both racially and religiously, of any settlement along the Atlantic seaboard or elsewhere. Finns, Swedes, Dutch, Germans, Irish, Welsh, and English made up this polychrome and polyglot community." The early land policy and the early history and administration of the colony, presented from the view of modern scholarship by Professor Andrews, cannot be discussed here. Briefly, the usual confusion of a new society was everywhere in evidence. In 1693, at the end of ten years, Penn himself graphically and wearily summed up his impressions in these words, "I abhor contention, niceties, doubtful disputation, divisions, etc., and am for patience, forbearance, long suffering and all true moderation." Twelve years later, his impressions had in no way brightened when, in 1705, he commented, "I am a crucified man between injustice and ingratitude there [Pennsylvania] and extortion and oppression here [England]."

To understand these disputations, it is necessary to understand that the many German and British sects and groups were naturally continuing the dissensions which they had brought from the home scene, and the new country increased their disputes. The Quakers and the Germans, for instance, felt obligated to deal justly with the Indians in land acquisition and other business transactions; the Scots-Irish, more largely settled on the frontier firing line, were inclined to obey the Biblical injunction to slay the heathens, and to disregard his claims to the land. By way of more detailed illustration of conditions, the Germans, although the most prolific in their ability to produce religious sects—in Lancaster County alone they probably had twenty or thirty—were usually willing to follow the Quakers in politics and government, thus strengthening the Quaker grip on the direction of Indian policies.

5 Ibid., III. 300ff.
6 Ibid., III. 304.
7 Sydney George Fisher, The Quaker Colonies, p. 49.
8 The tendency to split into local small bodies, some monastic, is strikingly illustrated...
Into this teeming, richly patterned, largely non-Anglican society, came the Church of England, long accustomed to a position of influence and power, and began its long effort to establish itself. It was naturally accused of wishing to reproduce the position of supremacy it enjoyed in England. Aided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Anglican movement exerted a continuous pressure as a strong minority, only partially broken in Pennsylvania by the American Revolution and then resumed under wholly American auspices. The records of the Society throw light not merely on the frontier and on the Indian but also on the social history of the period under scrutiny.

The eventual moderating influence of Pennsylvania can be clearly seen in the long and distinguished career of Bishop William White (1748-1836), who performed for the Anglican Church the same by such names as Tunkers, New Born, Zion's Brueider, Ronsdorfer, Inspired, Quietets, Mountain Men, Brinser Brethren, the Society of the Woman in the Wilderness. The large sect, the Mennonites, led by Pastorius and often described as German Quakers, fraternized with the English Quakers, and with others influenced by Penn, were distinguished as "the Church people," apart from the "sects" of the earlier migration. (Sydney George Fisher, The Quaker Colonies, pp. 42-44.) It is perhaps significant to point out that if these sects had been Roman Catholic, or a united Protestant group, they might have remained even more completely "an island of people" as the French have in Canada.

However, an overflow into the wilderness around Philadelphia began early, in ever widening circles, from Easton on the Delaware, up the Lehigh valley to Lancaster County, down the Cumberland valley to the Maryland-Virginia frontier and later to the South, into the Shenandoah and southwest corner of Virginia, to North Carolina where Moravian schools were established, and later to Lawrenceville, Tennessee, and other places. The literature on the Scots-Irish is naturally immense. One work which may be profitably consulted, is Henry Jones Ford, The Scotch-Irish in America (Princeton, New Jersey, 1915). See also H. F. Raup, "The Pennsylvania Dutch of Northampton County: Settlement Forms and Culture Pattern," in The Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia, XXVI (Winter 1938-1939); F. J. Klingberg, Old Sherry: A Portrait of a Virginia Family (Garrett and Massie, 1938), a study of a Lancaster immigration group; F. B. Kegley, Virginia Frontier, The Beginning of the Southwest, The Roanoke of Colonial Days (Southwest Virginia Historical Society, Roanoke, Virginia, 1938); A. B. Faust, German Element in United States (Houghton Mifflin, 1909).

9 A notable contribution to an understanding of the eighteenth century in the Middle Colonies has recently been made by the Reverend Walter Herbert Stowe in his The Life and Letters of Bishop William White, published for the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia, by Morehouse Publishing Co. (New York, 1937). More than any other religious body, the Anglicans were faced with the extremely difficult task of setting up an American Episcopal Church and readjusting their relations with Great Britain. Bishop White's long life (1748-1836) graphically illustrates the solution of this prob-
kind of services that the Revolutionary leaders did for the nation, creating ecclesiastical independence but with a minimum breakage of the English heritage.

Attention may now be directed to the continuous body of reports of the missionaries of the Society, educated men on the ground, whose contemporary letters to their superiors in London summed up their frontier experiences and made possible new analyses of colonial conditions and procedures for missionary work. The Anglican was jarred by the fact that his Church which, in England, dominated religious and political life, was in Pennsylvania, not only in a minority, but was

... exposed to the rage and scorn of all scismatics particularly of those numerous crowd of Heathen called Quakers, who would make many a triumphant Acclamation over her distress, ridicule her primitive ancient ceremonies out of Countenance, and trample her wholesome doctrines under feet ... what would signify our Church when there was none left within her to bear his Christian Testimony against those dark benighted and deluded Souls that deny the saving faith, and are worse than Infidels.11

Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker has recently made a comparison of religious conditions in New England with those in Pennsylvania.12 The Quakers regarded religion as a matter between the in-
individual and God and not subject to state regulation. In short, they were committed to religious toleration.

The emphasis, in this study of the part played by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Pennsylvania before the Revolution, is to be placed upon the Anglican work in its dealings with a group of “natives,” the Indians. Incidental light is thrown upon the whole religious setup, particularly the relations of the Society’s missionaries with the Quakers.

One of the first missionaries in Pennsylvania was the Reverend John Talbot who gave a bird’s-eye view of conditions in Pennsylvania in the course of his long journey from New England to North Carolina. During his stay in the Jerseys and in Pennsylvania, he came to the conclusion that the Quakers were the chief opponents of Anglicanism, and that George Keith, “... the fittest man that ever came over for this province ... a good Philosopher & Preacher but above all an excellent Disputant ...”, and himself would uphold the cause of the Church. To this end he ordered books and tracts, ... Common Prayer Books new or old, of all Sorts & Sizes, with the 39 Articles & some books of Homilies. ... Some of Dr. Comber’s books would be of right and good Use here to give those that ask a Reason of all things con-

So Pennsylvania was thrown open to Christians of all denominations, and Anglicans, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Mennonites, Moravians, Reformed rushed in.”

In this study, no distinction has been made between Pennsylvania and Delaware, since what is now known as Delaware was an integral part of Pennsylvania until 1776. Society missionaries used the names, Delaware and Pennsylvania, interchangeably.

The people of the Church in Burlington wrote the S.P.G. on April 2, 1704, requesting that John Talbot be permitted to stay with them. He became rector of St. Mary's church, but continued his missionary activities. See G. M. Hill’s “John Talbot, First Bishop in North America,” in Pennsylvania Magazine of History, III (1879), 38-39. Fortunately, Mr. Edgar Legāré Pennington has made the Talbot letters available in his recent volume, Apostle of New Jersey, John Talbot, 1645-1727. (Church Historical Society, 1938.) It is recorded in the Journal of the S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), I, February 27, 1701, that three ministers were to be sent to Pennsylvania and three more to the Jerseys, “with all convenient speed,” also that the Lord Bishop of Hereford had sent a great Welsh Bible and Book of Common Prayer to the Welsh congregation in Pennsylvania. In 1705, Talbot was recommended for bishop by the clergy of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and in 1707, the S.P.G. authorized Governor Hunter to negotiate for a recommended house for a bishop. See G. M. Hill, op. cit, 39-40; also Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), I, September 19, 1707.

tained in our English Liturgy which has stood the best Test of all Adversaries that were not blind & deaf. Above all Mr Lesly the Author of the Snake in the Grass has given Quakerism a deadly wound I hope never to be healed, & his 5 Discourses about Baptism and Episcopacy have brought many to the Church. We want 1000 of them to dispose of in the way that we goe. I use to take a Wallet full of Books and carry them 100 miles about and disperse them all abroad . . . 16

To a large extent, the problems of Indian education and Christianization were similar in all of the English colonies because the character and mentality of the Indians, whether in one colony or another, were sufficiently alike to the missionary to form one common story of the Indian problem.

The problems facing the missionary among the Indians were presented at length in a letter from Chester, March 9, 1709:

The Order of the Society, enjoying their missionaries to give an Exact and full account of their conversions of Heathens and Infidels, seems to be built upon a mistake; which lies in this, that the Missionaries are supposed to preach to the Indians, (for so I take the Word Heathens). We are confined to some particular charges among the English inhabitants who are generally seated on the front of the Country; whereas the Indians have their abodes a great way back in the woods, so that we seldom see or converse with one another, unless it be when leaving their Winter Quarters they straggle up and down among the English plantations and villages to meet a chapman for their burden of skins, or with a meal of victuals; besides few of them understand English, and we are altogether ignorant of their language, for as we had it not when we came to America, so we are otherwise employed in the country than to be able to learn tongues, so that we are utterly incapable of giving them any notion of religion; nay laying aside this consideration of wanting their several tongues; those few that can talk a little English, have their understanding so strangely darkened (which is more dismal) in spiritual things, that let a man beat his brains to make himself intelligible to them, he has just as little satisfaction, as if he had discoursed some carved head. They are justly accounted politic and Subtle in making Bargains but abstracting from their worldly concerns, I aver they are, veluti pecora quae natura prona atq. ventri obedientia finxit; nay as far as I could learn nullum nomen inter eos inveni, quod anima immortalitern significat: I will not say but those that are more conversant with them are able to give a better account of them. I would be understood to speak of them, not with contempt but with regret and from my own observation. 17

This same view of the isolation of the Indian by distance and language was also expressed by John Clubb, of Oxford, Pennsylvania,

a schoolmaster, who had had some years experience in the province as the basis for his statement.\textsuperscript{18}

Workers for the Society among the Indians were often discouraged. In 1722, the Reverend Mr. Becket, of Lewes, Delaware, wrote that one hundred and twenty Indians in his parish, near Maryland, were "... extremely barbarous, and obstinately ignorant of the Christian Religion. They have notwithstanding, sometimes an Idolatrous Cantico of their own."\textsuperscript{19} In 1730, a fellow missionary, the Reverend Mr. Hacket of Appoquinimink was able to record one of the first baptisms of an Indian in his parish.\textsuperscript{20}

Conflicts with the dominant Quaker party went on throughout the eighteenth century, almost as if the Quakers were responsible for the difficulties of Indian Christianization and other missionary activity. The Anglican hostility was strangely violent, but apparently in key with secular conflicts. For example, the Reverend William Becket, of Lewes, described Philadelphia as "... the greatest Sink of Quakerism & Infidelity in all English America."\textsuperscript{21}

An instance of Quaker retaliation occurred, in the course of these multitudinous arguments and battles of books and tracts, when the Reverend William Smith complained of the persecuting spirit of the Quakers against all who had the courage to avow themselves champions of the defense of the colony against the French. He had been tried by the Assembly and put into jail, bail being refused.\textsuperscript{22} More-
over, George Whitefield, with his amazing gifts for religious crusading, on his repeated journeys to the colonies, was in constant controversy with the Anglican clergy. In 1740, the Reverend William Currie, missionary at Radnor, complained of the havoc worked by Mr. Whitefield in the Church of England congregations, and wrote to the Secretary that "this strolling Preacher" and "this deceiver pretends to be the only true Minister of the Church of England now in America." Several of his parishioners were taken with Whitefield's principles, but, he added, all of them returned to his church within a year.

Despite these difficulties, decade by decade, work among the Indians went on in different places and with varying degrees of intensity. The Reverend Mr. Thomas Barton, an itinerant missionary for the Society and an ex-assistant in a Philadelphia College, displayed more zealous concern in his letters concerning the Indians, than did any of his associates. He was one of the most remarkable missionaries of the S.P.G. in America. For twenty years he fostered the widely scattered churches at Lancaster, Pequea, Caernarvon and Morgantown, travelling thousands of miles in hilly country

also, two reviews in the Edinburgh Review, give a great deal of credit to the Quakers. "Some Account of New Zealand, Particularly the Bay of Islands, and surrounding Country, with a Description of the Religion and Government, Language, Arts, Manufactures, Manners, and Customs of the Natives . . ." by John Savage (8 vols., London: Murray, 1807) in the Review, X (July, 1807), 471-478. The reviewer tells of the success of the Quakers among the Five Nations, and states that the President of the United States had appointed a superintendent and eight assistants chosen from the Quakers, to reside among the Indians. The yearly sum allowed for this was $10,000. The other review is "A brief Account of the Proceedings of the Committee appointed in the year 1795 by the yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, etc. for promoting the Improvement and gradual Civilization of the Indian Natives." (London: Phillips and Pardon, 1806) in the Review, X (July, 1806), 442-450. The account states that the Indians of North America owe very few obligations to the Europeans. The Europeans attacked them in warfare, enslaved them, and took possession of their land. The Quakers laid the solid foundation for Indian civilization. The Quakers sent missionaries, but not as preachers, rather as carpenters, ploughmen and craftsmen. These men settled among the Indians; they did not preach Christianity but hoped the Indians would be led to their way by example.

William Currie to [Secretary], Radnor, Pennsylvania, July 7, 1740 in Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), VIII, November 21, 1740. Similar letters from William Becket of Lewes, George Ross of Newcastle, Alexander Howie of Oxford can also be found in this volume of the Journal.

and in all kinds of weather. He frequently mentioned his ministry to the Welsh, for whom he apparently had a strong affection.  

Mr. Barton wrote to the Secretary from Huntingdon that he had made it his business to visit with the savages who were coming down from the Ohio to Carlisle to dispose of their fur and deer skins. He invited the Indians to church, many of them came and seemed attentive. The Indians were susceptible of good impressions, Barton thought, and "... if they found Missionaries divested of sinister and selfish Motives they could be prevailed upon to exchange their savage barbarity for the pure and peaceable religion of Jesus." In 1756, Barton reported that he had baptized one Indian girl "who had been brought up in a Christian family since her infancy, after due examination and instruction." Later Barton baptized "an Indian woman who resided ... for sometime among the white people."  

It was this missionary's belief that the Susquehanna Indians should not be put into the same category as heathens, merely because the majority of them were Calvinists and Mennonites. He said:  

I have never learnt that there were heathens among them. There are, indeed, a few Indians, who live upon the banks of the Susquehanna, but they cannot properly come under this denomination, for they both feel and own a being of a God and an all ruling Providence, and from what they know by their own imperfect and untutored reason, I hope they will ... be brought to ... the doctrines of Christianity.  

Just as Mr. Barton was established in his work, the English forces under the command of General Braddock were defeated on July 9, 1755, as they were marching to take Duquesne. This was followed by an alienation of the Indians, and from that time, the Reverend Mr. Barton declared, Pennsylvania had felt the "sad effects of Pop-
ish Tyranny and Savage Cruelty." The Indians thought it no sin to murder the English, but rather a meritorious act, and besides, "the French had old men among them who could forgive all Sins." The Indians said it was true that the English had often given them presents:

... but they took care they should never carry them many miles before the Traders came after them, to cheat them, give them only a little rum in return. Whereas the French always paid them well for their skins, etc.; built houses for them; instructed their children and took care of their wives when they went to war.

Indian resistance, as is well known, again flared up in 1763 and 1764 under the leadership of Pontiac, and inevitably the missionaries were driven away from their outposts. It was the opinion of Barton that by such neglect and injustice, the English had forfeited an alliance that would in all probability have secured to them a quiet enjoyment of their possessions and prevented any dreadful consequences. An agreement between the sachems and the government, aimed at prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians, was evaded by the traders and consequently, missionary work was crippled.

Barton’s cooperation with Dr. William Smith marks an important stage in Indian work. In order to meet the difficulties of conversion they determined on the education of several Indian boys at the Philadelphia Academy. In response to this plan the Society signified its endorsement and agreed to pay the expenses of several Indian children at the Academy, to be trained in the principles of Christianity. The Reverend Mr. Smith’s enthusiasm over the idea of Indian education is comparable to that of Dr. Francis Le Jau’s, the successful Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary among the Indians in South Carolina, earlier in the eighteenth century. Smith wrote to the Secretary that, although the Society had

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30 Thomas Barton to Secretary, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, November 8, 1756 in William Stevens Perry, Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, II. 276-278.

31 Ibid., II. 278-279.

32 Thomas Barton to Secretary, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, June 28, 1763 and November 16, 1764 in Perry, Historical Collections, II. 348, 369; Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), XVI, October 28, 1763.

not had any remarkable success in the work of converting the Indians, the education of the rising generation was the key to large scale success. In 1756 he asked for more information from the Society,

... I should be glad to be informed what number the Society would propose to maintain... that I might... settle... the plan with the Trustees... and to fall upon means of defraying expenses... above the Society's Allowance. If it was thought advisable, some of them might be placed in the country at the Charity-Schools lately created among the Germans, in the management of which I am concerned... yet I should not think it advisable, because the farther distant from their parents and the more public the place is at which these children are placed, so much better would it be in the political consideration of attaching them more strongly to our interest, by giving them opportunities of seeing and knowing the principal persons in our Government.\(^{34}\)

The students could be clothed, fed and educated for about £20 sterling per annum, Dr. Smith believed, but there was another considerable expense which the Society should not overlook. The parents of the Indian children would visit them, and they had to be supported during their stay, on the journey, and be given adequate presents every time. However, this expense, Dr. Smith hoped, would be defrayed willingly by the province, but on that point, Mr. Penn had to be consulted. Another problem would be the Indians' hostility to such an education. The confidence of the government would first have to be gained, and then the officials might be persuaded to appoint a provincial interpreter to go among the Indians. The interpreter could use his influence to reconcile the parents to separation from their children, and to point out to them the advantages of an education. There would be expenses for the interpreter's pay and his travel funds.\(^{35}\)

In urging the claims of his Academy as a center for Indian education, Dr. Smith pointed out that Pennsylvania had always preserved its faith with the Indians,\(^{36}\) that the chief men in the province


\(^{36}\) The friendly relations of Pennsylvania with the Indians was of course due in large part to the Quaker policy, expressing itself through such agents as Conrad Weiser and
were trustees of the Academy, and that the institution was not narrowly sectarian. All the clergy would endorse the excellent reputation of the Institution and the proposal for educating Indian children in it, as against any other possible plan.

The Society considered Dr. Smith’s ideas and replied,

... after consulting Mr. Penn, who professes to approve of the Education of Indian Children in your College, and promises ... to countenance and help forward that design as much as the present turbulent times in Pennsylvania will admit, the Society are come to the Resolution of advancing as far as one hundred pounds Sterling per annum by way of trial for the Education of as many Indian Children as that sum will maintain ... if their parents will consent to put them under your care and direction; and the particular regulations concerning them are left to you, taking along with you the approbation of the Trustees of the College.  

Dr. Smith firmly believed that the support of Christianity in the white community and the steady propagation of it among the heathens, were but different parts of the same colonial missionary undertaking, arguing that if the Society devoted itself wholly to conversion of the Indians, the colonists would “degenerate into a state little better than Heathenism itself.” Happy over the Academy plan, he wrote, in 1760, “One single Savage fully convinced of the Truth of Christianity, and truly animated by its ... spirit, may ... at some future period, be rendered an Apostle to the rest,

Christian Frederick Post. See Albert T. Volwiler, George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782, (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1926), 111, “... [Croghan] was in marked contrast to Conrad Weiser and Christian Frederick Post. They had almost no financial interest in their missions and instead of the craft of the diplomat, they possessed the guileless simplicity of the ascetic and the missionary.” P. 137, “He [Christian Frederick Post] was sent to the wavering Ohio tribes in July, 1758, by Governor Denny. Heroically and calmly, and with sublime courage he went into the heart of the enemy’s country and placed himself in the hands of a treacherous and cruel foe. He met the Indians in conferences west of Fort Du Quesne. Frequently French officers were present, but they could not persuade the Indians to permit them to take Post as a prisoner and they dared not take him without their permission. Post returned by unfrequented forest paths and the good news which he brought came at an opportune time to be of service at the next treaty of Easton.” The later career of Post as an S.P.G. Missionary on the Mosquito Shore is treated elsewhere, “The Efforts of the S.P.G. to Christianize the Mosquito Indians, 1742-1785,” in Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church (Dec., 1940).

Philip Bearcroft to the Reverend Dr. Smith, Charterhouse, July 1, 1757, in W. S. Perry, Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, Pennsylvania, II. 566.
and an instrument of turning thousands from . . . Darkness . . . to the . . . light of Christ . . ." 38

With the victory over the French, many obstacles which formerly lay in the way of converting the heathen were almost entirely removed, and Dr. Smith optimistically declared in an early expression of "Manifest Destiny":

We were, heretofore, but a small people. . . . Our access to the heathen was difficult. . . . The arts of our busy enemies had sown many prejudices. . . . But now the case is much altered. We are become a . . . growing people; extending . . . our empire far over this continent. The present war, which we short­sighted mortals considered as one of the greatest evils, is likely to be productive of the best consequences . . . we behold the hand of Providence in it. A series of unlooked for successes has blessed our arms . . . The Protestant interest in America has now received such signal advantages, and . . . sure footing, that we trust neither the machinations of its inveterate enemies, nor even the gates of hell itself, shall ever prevail against it. Our credit with the Indian native begins to stand in a high point of light. A more thorough knowledge of their country and manners is obtained than ever we had before. 39

Dr. Smith declared that the English were the only people settled in America who were able to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, food and ammunition being the big problems in Indian alliance. When the enemy could be confined in his due bounds, the English would have attained a more natural and lasting dominion over the Indians of the continent by their " . . . Arts and Manufactures than the Romans did over the old world by the tenor of their Arms." 40 He inevitably had extensive correspondence with Sir

38 William Smith, A Discourse Concerning the Conversion of the Heathen Americans, and the final Propagation of Christianity and the Sciences to the Ends of the Earth, Part I, 18 (W. Dunlap, Philadelphia, 1760). The book is in two parts, Part I was delivered as a sermon before a voluntary convention of the Episcopal clergy of Pennsylvania on May 2, 1760, and Part II was an address to the Trustees, Masters, and Scholars of the College of Philadelphia at the first anniversary commencement.

39 Ibid., Part I, 18–19.

40 Among the numerous tracts and pamphlets dealing with the religious instruction of the Indian, attention should be called to that of Thomas Wilson, Essay towards an Instruction of the Indians, 1741 (Huntington Library). The ideas contained in this essay were expressed in whole or in part by Thomas Bray the founder of the Society, in the Annual Sermons, through the eighteenth century, and in later literature of the Society. The old charge that the bad lives of the Christians "double-crosse" the mission work, that the Indian could grasp delicate points of doctrine and ask pertinent questions, and that it was the duty of those who profited by the labors of red men to give generously for the support of the missionaries, are here vividly presented. All good Christians, but especially the clergy and wealthy laymen in the trading towns,
William Johnson, superintendent of the Northern Indians (roughly north of the Potomac and the Ohio including the Great Lakes region), concerning his plans for education of the Indian boys. In addition to the Academy scheme, he had worked out, with the advice and help of Colonel Croghan and Mr. Peters, another plan for converting the red men. In an outline of his ideas, submitted to Johnson in a letter of March 16, 1767, he stated that any method of Indian conversion should be under government supervision, and that neither teacher nor preacher should go among the Indians without the approval of those in charge of Indian affairs. No “contrariety” of doctrines should be inculcated among the Indians, only general principles of Christianity, and the teaching of the arts of civil life should go before or at least accompany the teaching of Christianity. If his proposal that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel apply to the Crown for two grants of land of about fifty thousand to one hundred thousand acres each, one in New York and the other on the Ohio, were approved, then the Society might assist in settling there both white and Indian families. Stores could be established where all trinkets, skins, and other necessities would have a fixed price, and no private persons would be permitted to deal with these colonies of Indians. Within such communities it would be easy to instruct the children, “For till Settlements are made or some such Plan as this is pursued, and a Number of Families so fixed and separated from the Rest, as that we may have Time to make Impressions especially on the Rising Generation of them, by a fair & careful Trial—the opening of a School or sending a Missionary here & there among vagrant Tribes, leaving their Homes more than half their Time—will be like Writing in the Sand.”

are challenged to pay their debt to these laborers. The theory of the Noble Savage appears both in the direct statements and in the tacit assumptions throughout the essay.

41 William Smith to Daniel Burton, May 1, 1767, in Perry, Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, Pennsylvania, II. 415. Mr. Smith stated, “I have by Col. Croghan & with him & Mr. Peter’s advice laid before Sr Wm Johnson a scheme something different, much more extensive & what he is pleased to think better, than any other for propagating the Gospel & the arts of Civil life among the Indians.” Col. Croghan had just returned from Johnson, and Johnson had sent Smith a few lines to let him know he would write fully as soon as the Indians at his house had departed.

42 These ideas were set forth in a letter to Sir William Johnson, dated Philadelphia, March 16, 1767 in James Sullivan and Alexander C. Flick, eds., Johnson Papers, V.
The long experience of Sir William Johnson with the Indians enabled him to see the defects of the Smith plan. Sir William wrote to his correspondent that the idea of a white and red community was repugnant to the Indian, and that the Indians "of the Northern parts" had an almost unconquerable aversion to the arts of husbandry. Although Sir William approved of the idea of grants of land, he feared that the Indians would become suspicious. It was true, he stated, that the Jesuits of Paraguay had used these methods successfully, but he observed that the English missionaries would never sink themselves into Indian life as the Jesuits did. The difficulties of Indian civilization and the debasing effects of white contact are well stated in this letter of April 10, 1767:

One great difficulty we have met with on the contracted plan hitherto pursued and in which the French Jesuits had so considerable an advantage over us was, that none of the clergy of our Church could submit to sacrifice their friends hopes, & connections, to bury themselves in an obscure village surrounded by a parcel of Indians, and yetnothing ever bade fairer for success if it could be put in practice, for I have ever observed that those Indians who have the least intercourse with us, have the most integrity, & possess the best moral qualities, & would be easily brought under the conduct of a good resid. Teacher of exemplary life to perceive the sweets of a well regulated society; which once effected they would soon adopt your judicious plan without umbrage or jealousy, and it was from a considerate of this, & from a thorough knowledge of their sentiments of the English, my apprehensions of the misconduct of some amongst any number of settlers among them, & the sovereign contempt in which they hold all those who do not act up to the tenets of their profession that I only proposed as a beginning that two schools should be erected with clergyman well qualified at their head, assisted by proper masters, who should instruct the youth committed to their charge in all useful knowledge, & these when duly fit to be sent amongst the several tribes to procure more scholars & convince their people of the advantages possessed by a civilized people, which from the mouths of Indians would receive double force, and soon effect the utmost of our most sanguine expectations.

Sir William Johnson, in the preceding year, as just stated, had already committed himself to a plan. The scheme was to have three schools, each consisting of at least ten boys. The first school could be set up on the Mohawk River, and be incorporated with the free school which Sir William Johnson intended to erect and endow near Johnson Hall, the master to be under Johnson's management. The

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510-514. Dr. Smith said that these points were taken from the excellent civil policy of the Jesuits in Paraguay, and deserved imitation.

* Sir William Johnson to Dr. William Smith, Johnson Hall, April 10, 1767, Johnson Papers, V. 528-532.
second school should be fixed at Fort Pitt, under the protection of the commanding officer. The third school was to be placed in the remote parts of South Carolina, and to be under the care of the superintendent of Indian affairs of the Southern District, or some missionary there. The estimated expense included £7 for diet and lodging of each student, £2 for clothing, £1 for books and papers, and £50 for each master, the total for the three schools amounted to £450 annually.

The Reverend Mr. Barton realized that this expense would be too heavy for the Society's funds, but he hoped that it would not fall entirely upon its members. His insight into the Indian character is evidenced in the following excerpt from his letter of November 10, 1766:

The civilization and instruction of the Indians, considered only in a political light, ought to be a public benefit; for 'till the fierce and cruel tempers of those poor barbarians are softened and subdued by knowledge, His Majesty's American subjects need never expect a lasting peace with them. Every trifling occasion will arouse them to vengeance. . . . War is their science. They know no other. They were taught it by necessity and nature, and neither fair speeches, nor treaties, or rich presents will ever prevail with them to quit it long . . . nothing but extending the light of knowledge to them will ever conciliate them to us. . . . It will be . . . in vain to attempt it [education] by sending any other missionaries but Indian ones to reside in their country. . . . Hunting is their employment. . . . It never suffers them to settle in collective bodies, or to remain long in one place. In this situation, European missionaries can expect to do but little service . . . whilst missionaries formed from amongst the Indians themselves, by being accustomed to their hardships, their . . . manner of living . . . may do a great deal. I make no doubt but such missionaries would . . . persuade their wandering tribes to incorporate with Civil Society . . . there appears no scheme more likely to accomplish this most desirable end than . . . erecting Indian schools, which it is hoped would soon supply the Society with proper persons to carry on the glad tidings of Salvation to the deluded heathen. . . . I am . . . of the opinion that upon proper application, several of the American Assemblies would contribute towards it, and that his Majesty, upon the petition of the Venerable Society, would . . . grant lands . . . for the future support of it.

*Ibid.*, V. 388-391, 403, 433-444. However, this school was to be visited once a year by some missionaries of the Society and to be subject to such rules as they might think conducive to its prosperity.

The greatest obstacle in such an undertaking he continued would be the difficulty of finding teachers who understood the Indian language, and in addition, to find men of prudence and good morals. He asked Sir William Johnson’s advice on this point.

The Society considered Mr. Barton’s proposals, and decided to establish a school for ten Indian boys on the Mohawk River under the direction of Sir William; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel agreed to contribute toward the expense of the school, not to exceed £150 per year. The Reverend Alexander Murray, of Reading, was recommended as teacher by Dr. Smith and Mr. Barton, if the Society and Sir William approved.

The Reverend Mr. Barton expressed a desire to go among the Indians and establish a mission, but his hopes vanished by reason of Indian uprisings and the Revolution; he at last decided that the “fierceness and barbarity of these faithless wretches” struck a dread and terror upon any attempts to further conversion. Whenever the Indians were quieted he believed that the missionaries would be able, . . . under the influence and direction of Heaven to bring numbers of these poor Infidels to the knowledge of the true God and to embrace the Gospel of His Blessed Son. Notwithstanding the hardships and difficulties that must unavoidably attend this great work I shall never refuse to bear my part in it when prudence and a prospect of success shall invite it.

Meanwhile at Reading, another center of religious activity and dissension, ministers and people in frontier fashion were quarrelling

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46 Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), XVII, March 20, 1767. The proper amount of money was to be decided upon by Sir William Johnson, and outlined for the Society.

47 Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), XVII, March 18, 1768. Mr. Murray’s salary at Johnson Hall would be £40 per annum.

48 Thomas Barton to the Secretary, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, November 16, 1764 in William Stevens Perry, Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, II. 369. It must be kept in mind that the work of the S.P.G. in Pennsylvania is that of a minority body, operating under the stimulating conditions of colleagues of other religious persuasions. In this monograph no attempt can be made to evaluate the very significant work of two outstanding Quaker pioneers in humanitarianism, viz. John Woolman, and Anthony Benezet. The latter under date of 1761, Some Account of the Behavior and Sentiments of a number of well disposed Indians, mostly of the Minusing Tribe (MSS. Huntington Library), reports two conferences with Indians of the town of Wadhackloosing who had been won to the Quaker faith. The Quaker point of view is well expressed in their phrase, they thought it strange that Christians were such great warriors. This account with the references to Conrad Weiser and to Christian Frederick Post and his first journey from Philadelphia to the Ohio, will be more fully discussed by the author at a future time.
over the question of parish support, and as often was the case both parties found it convenient to break the engagement, the minister to find a fresh post, and the people to get a new leader. The Reverend Alexander Murray, of this town wrote,

In this perpetual Round of Changes & contentions ... with all ye Party-Rage & Violence of Men out of their senses; ending in provoking libels & Lampoons, & in Batteries & Bloodshed, 'twixt Pastors & People, as here of late, which forms the most Ludicrous & pitiable Contrast Imaginable, & has too manifest a tendency to expose the Ministerial Character to such Obloquy & Contempt ... as I could hardly have thought it could be loaded with in any Christian Country. ... In the short time I have been here, the Baptists, Lutherans & Calvinists (the Most numerous Sects in this ... country adjacent) have changed their Ministers, & are still unprovided, as they have been for some months past. In the midst of these Convulsions & Wild-fire, I have you to judge what State of Mind I must necessarily be in; not knowing often what course to steer, that, if possible, I may give no offence. ... A Minister here must double his Guard & deny himself many of ye Innocent Comforts & Liberties of Life, & Undergo as many of its Inconveniences, Foils, & Troubles, if ever he would succeed in his Work, particularly in ye Frontier Missions, as of Berks, Lancaster, York, & Cumberland. ... 49

Nevertheless, the dissenting clergy were better off than the Anglican, in Mr. Murray's opinion, because they were allowed to engage in other occupations and to hold civil offices. The Baptists he thought were the least factious of all, but the Lutherans were forever electing new ministers, "... being fonder of New Clergy than New Clothes, which they are parsimonious enough to wear Threadbare. ... Their Elections are like Polish Diets; they meet again & again, & as often dissolved in Confusion, till at last tired out, they submit to any Measure or any Minister for a Time, which makes ye Settlements short lived and Unsatisfying and Vacancies long." 50 Even

49 Letter dated January 25, 1764, Quoted by B. F. Owen, ed., "Papers Relating to the Founding by the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,' London, of the Missions at Reading and Morlattan, Berks County, Pennsylvania" in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXV (October, 1901), 380-381. These papers contain an excellent account of conditions in a democratic frontier society, where the pay of the ministers, their election and dismissal, and the extreme hardships and dangers of travel are graphically set forth. Dissenting clergy at times had to engage in trade or hold civil office. An interesting side-light is given in a reference to Morlattan where a missionary was requested to officiate in a church by a society of "English Swedes," evidence that Swedes were joining the Anglican Church.

50 Letter dated March 26, 1772, loc. cit., XXV. 542-543.
the well-known Conrad Weiser, the Indian expert, was a member at various times of different religious bodies.\textsuperscript{51}

The strength of dissenters in Pennsylvania is occasionally carefully noted in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel records. William Currie, of Radnor, in 1769 reported the total number of the inhabitants in his parish as 2000; of these 480 were Anglicans, 1550 dissenters, and 70 heathen Negroes.\textsuperscript{52}

Such religious diversity as well as remoteness from his superior, the Bishop of London, aroused the Anglican missionary in Pennsylvania to champion firm ecclesiastical government in the colonies, and to put questions to the Society similar to the following one by Mr. Alexander Murray: “Must not Christianity in such circumstances suffer in the eyes of the Heathen, whose Morals it should mend, not Corrupt? . . . Has France or Spain, Russia or Turkey left their Religion in such a Distracted State as ours in British America?”\textsuperscript{53}

From the foregoing statement and throughout the anxious discussion of the missionaries regarding Indian schools, it is clear that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel forces had correctly analyzed the Indian problem to be beyond the capacity of local or provincial management, and had foreseen that it would have to be, as indeed it largely became, an imperial, and later a federal responsibility. It must be remembered that Indian affairs, just after the mid-century (1756), were removed from the jurisdiction of the several colonies, and placed under the control of Sir William Johnson for the region north of the Potomac and the Ohio, and for that

\textsuperscript{51} Joseph S. Walton, \textit{Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania}. See especially Chapter IV, “Religious Revivals at Ephrata Temporarily Win Weiser away from Indian affairs,” pp. 44–55. About 1738, soon after his arrival in Pennsylvania, Weiser, an elder in the Lutheran Church at Tulpehocken, was persuaded to leave his faith and join the “Seventh Day Baptists” at Ephrata, led by Conrad Beissel. Several years later, Weiser left the “Seventh Day Baptists” and became interested in the Moravian efforts to convert the Indians.

\textsuperscript{52} William Currie to [Secretary], Radnor, Pennsylvania, September 30, 1769 in \textit{Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.)}, XVIII, March 16, 1770. The term dissenters in this monograph is used to describe non-Anglicans.

south of these rivers under John Stuart. With their secular affairs as to land grants, war and peace, and the like, thus under imperial jurisdiction, a policy later confirmed by the United States, it seemed natural to Sir William that education and religious instruction should have the favor of imperial authority, namely Anglicanism, and that the Indian mind should not be muddled by a "contrariety" of religious opinion. The story of his co-operation with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has been told elsewhere.  

By an irony of history, the imperial government, during the twenty years before the Revolution, had been forced to plan and in a good part adopt a program to settle not only Indian affairs, but also to determine public land policy, boundaries, internal taxation, regulation of the currency and of trade and other national matters. All this preliminary imperial unification, intended or accomplished, was an inevitable development of federalism, a division of powers to be gained only by the individual colony's surrender of some of its sovereignty to a common overlord. Eventually but most reluctantly each colony gave up some of its authority during the Revolution and the ensuing critical years. But the events proved that no colony was willing to surrender all these powers to the British government beyond the sea.

In Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, the work of the Anglican, and particularly of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary, was suspect during the Revolution, because both were regarded when tension rose as additional active agents of imperial authority, a feeling which collapsed when independence had been gained. Bishop William White, as an American champion of independence was able to play a leading part in the role of conciliation, and in the establishment of the first independent Anglican Church, the American Episcopal. Only a Middle Colony and perhaps only Pennsylvania, with its peculiarly American atmosphere, could have produced the particular leader of the moderator type, capable of steering a middle course in the perilous times of the "taking over" of the affairs of this church. The achievements of Washington,

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Franklin, and Robert Morris in lay statecraft have their counterpart, it may be pointed out, in the work of White, Seabury and others in ecclesiastical statesmanship and organization.

In conclusion it may be emphasized that the Indian tribes were to be swept so quickly out of the colonial canvas that the completeness of the change made the Indian almost as remote as if a thousand years had intervened. He was gone, except for occasional small groups, now almost museum pieces, leaving his legend and his tragedy in the names of places, states, and rivers, the names of which read like a chant of poetry; from the scenes themselves, however, he had vanished.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel records throw light upon the attempts to conserve the tribes. Workers in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were divided in their analysis of the fate of the Indians. Pennsylvania men showed in the foregoing letters that they were convinced that the Indian was fated to disappear in this colony. Sir William Johnson, on the contrary, from his point of vantage believed that the Indian could maintain himself for a long time, underestimating, with other contemporaries, the numbers and might of the farm colony settlers, marching over the horizon.

The minutiae of the activities of the Anglican minority in Pennsylvania, borderland between extreme North and South, province of conflicting nationalities and religions, is significant, not merely for the light that it throws upon the vanishing Indian, but also as an all but inevitable center for the growth of religious toleration. Toleration, not uniformity, was the only practical solution in this colony. Moreover, this emerging attitude was in line with the changing mood of the century, not only in the Colonies but in France and Great Britain as well. John Locke, as Jefferson in writing to John Adams acknowledged, furnished leading ideas for the Declaration of Independence, together with basic conceptions and arguments for religious toleration and for education. Dr. Merle Curti has penetratingly set forth in a recent study that Locke's ideas persisted well into the nineteenth century, as an active force moulding American opinion.

56 Merle Curti, "The Great Mr. Locke, America's Philosopher, 1783-1861." (Huntington Library Bulletin, April, 1937.)
The Anglican contribution too, as a continuing and expanding influence, was not broken by the Revolution but was sufficiently entrenched to emerge in strength after independence was achieved, even where churches had been closed, as in Connecticut. Pennsylvania, with its conservative middle-ground atmosphere, through the work of William White, chaplain of the Continental Congress and the Senate, provided leadership in perilous times for the creation of an independent American Episcopal Church. Political independence of course did not break the cultural contacts with Great Britain. The earlier transit of ideas continued under independence and movements were frequently co-operative, whether the exchange was in the field of literature, business methods, or humanitarian cooperation. The student of intellectual history and of hard-won first steps towards the organization of a new society may well be impatient of small beginnings, of set-backs, of the trickling streams which later feed the larger rivers of change and achievement. The story of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century throws not a little light on the debated question: Do ideas and movements originate at the center, in the older community, and spread to the frontier or are they the product of the experiences of the new community in the wilderness and carried back to the mother land? The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel provides a definite answer, that both of these regions make their contributions. The pioneer missionary, acting as a religious and humanitarian lookout on the frontier, wrote to his central body in London from many stations, reaching from Newfoundland to Barbados, from Philadelphia to the Mosquito Shore. The dispatches of these missionary consuls were read, discussed, codified, digested and enriched with theory and accumulated philosophical insight by men of perspective, who then sent fresh instructions, from the general pool of reports, out to all the network, thus maintaining a continual chain of ideas in transit, throughout the century.\(^56\)

\(^{56}\) An almost complete file of the Abstracts of Proceedings, beginning in 1701 and containing the annual sermons preached before the Society, can be found in the Huntington Library and the Library of Congress.